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Introduction

This report is the second component of a literature review undertaken by the Canadian Urban Institute for the Government of Ontario's Office of the Greater Toronto Area. It focuses on policies, issues, and options for managing regional urban growth in major metropolises around the world.

The first component, entitled *Managing Regional Urban Growth: An Annotated Bibliography* was completed in April, 1990. It focused on academic and professional literature concerned with the management of regional urban growth. For the purposes of the bibliography, 'management of regional urban growth' was defined as the development and implementation of public policies to control the rate, amount, type, location, and nature of development within an urban region. The first component included the following items:

- a 320-item bibliography, including some 150 annotations, of articles on urban growth management in journals, books, and government documents;
- one-page summaries of 40 of the articles; and
- organization of the bibliographic information with the name Managing Regional Urban Growth (MRUG).

The second component covers documents produced by authorities responsible for planning urban regions and, in some cases, reviews of the documents by leading urban policy and planning professionals and academics. It includes:

- documents from 17 metropolitan areas that share essential features with the Greater Toronto Area and have English language publications;
- an index listing by each metropolitan area the documents been collected and the contact agency or person in the area; and
- the present report, which provides summaries of the major themes of the documents of each area.

1 ADELAIDE, South Australia

Metropolitan Adelaide is made up of 30 councils, each having responsibility for zoning in the area. The state government undertakes regional planning exercises for the region and prepares development plans. The State is also responsible for providing infrastructure for developing urban areas.

Adelaide's population of 987,000 is projected to increase by 20 percent over the next 25 years. If current trends continue, 19 centrally located council areas of Adelaide will lose more than 35,000 people over the next two decades and the population of eleven largely suburban areas will grow by about 50 percent. Household size is diminishing as the population ages, and Adelaide is faced with decisions about where to build a variety of housing types. State government is increasingly more reluctant to provide infrastructure for new developments on the outskirts of Adelaide when inner city areas have not been developed to capacity. The publication *Adelaide: Its Future Development*, released by the State Department of Environment and Planning outlines the State's views on how and where future residential development should occur.

The major thrust of the document is to argue that urban 'consolidation' is the most cost effective and feasible approach to meeting the regional housing needs. More homes will be built in existing suburbs, and attention will be paid to creating a variety of housing types. Urban consolidation will be facilitated by increasing housing densities and introducing flexible development standards. The State argues that the major social and economic benefits of urban consolidation range from increased opportunities for people to live closer to their jobs, retail areas, and public services to reduced demand for new housing and services on the outskirts of Adelaide. Urban consolidation will reduce the development threat facing the rural and agricultural areas surrounding Adelaide.

Current planning controls are based on housing types and not on the quality of housing built. To facilitate urban consolidation, State planning controls will be changed to require that proposed dwellings suit their setting rather than to require that a certain dwelling type be built. Further, the right for third parties to appeal residential development will be changed. Increasingly developers of residential projects will not have to provide neighbours with written notice of their intentions. Residential growth on the outskirts of Adelaide has been targeted for two distinct areas which are relatively cheap to service and are located close to other already developed areas.

2 AUCKLAND, North Island

The Auckland Regional Authority (ARA) was established in 1963 to manage metropolitan growth and development issues in Auckland. The ARA serves a population of 911,700. The Region's population is expected to reach 1,030,000 by 2001. About 350,000 jobs are located in the area; 30 percent are in manufacturing, 22 percent in services, and 17 percent in trade. Current regional planning concerns relate to: a decline in manufacturing and increase in service sector activities; uncoordinated redevelopment of the CBD; and increasing demands for regional infrastructure in newly developing parts of the region. The *Auckland Regional Authority Annual Report 1987* and briefing papers from ARA's planning department were used to prepare this overview.

The Region has a total area of 5290 square kilometres, of which 90 percent is in non-urban uses such as farming, forest, and water catchments. There are six major local authorities in the region: Auckland City, Franklin County, Manukau City, Papakura City, Rodney County, Takapuna City, and Waitemata City with populations ranging from 44,000 (Rodney County) to 177,000 (Manukau City). ARA's reponsibilities in the area include: water supply, refuse disposal, airport and bus facilities, regional planning, water and soil resources, and transportation planning.

Regional planning in Auckland began in 1946 when the Metropolitan Planning Organisation was established. It was directed by five representatives from Auckland City Council, and five from suburban authorities. When new town planning legislation was enacted in 1953, the organisation was turned into the Auckland Regional Planning Authority (ARPA). Much of the work done by these early organizations forms the basis for regional planning within the multi-purpose ARA. The planning department develops regional policy through research and recommendations, but its documents have no binding powers. It tries to influence governmental decision-making by providing information and engaging in advocacy. ARA would like to be the agency for implementing the resource management policies of Central Government and in this way make regional planning the link between Central Government and regional development. In transportation planning, ARA has three functions: (1) medium to long-range transportation planning; (2) operational planning for existing road and public transport facilities; and (3) administrative and financial work to allocate funds and subsidies to local transport operators.

3 BRISBANE CITY, Queensland

The population of the Brisbane Statistical Division, which includes Brisbane City and surrounding suburbs reached 1,149,400 in 1986. The area has experienced a 20 percent growth in population since 1976. Local authorities have begun looking at Brisbane City and surrounding suburbs as one whole metropolitan area in recent attempts to more responsibly manage the regional growth.

Growth management issues in Brisbane include choosing between strengthening the role of the central business district and improving accessibility to the area or supporting the growth of fifteen or more mixed use employment centres and the facilities to service them. As is reflected in the *Brisbane Traffic Study* (1986), the opposing approaches to managing growth have serious implications for the viability of public transit and the types of road improvements that are needed. The role, necessity for, and location of high density residential development are also under consideration.

The traffic study is a combined effort of Brisbane City Council, Main Roads Department, Queensland Railways, Department of Transport, representatives of the development and housing industries, road use organizations, market research organizations, the University of Queensland and the Queensland Institute of Technology. A three phase study was undertaken to develop a strategic traffic and transportation plan to guide development to the year 2000 and beyond. Initially the researchers undertook an inventory of existing road and transport systems and a public attitude survey to determine residents' views about the city and its future direction. Alternative land use scenarios were developed to examine how different patterns and intensity of land use affect transportation requirements. The second phase of the study examined financing options, inner city traffic problems, efficiency of land use systems, and the traffic implications for each alternative land use scenario. The third phase of the study provides a detailed look at traffic and transportation requirements of several preferred land use scenarios. Four land use scenarios for the metropolitan area are presented in the *Brisbane Traffic Study* publication. These options will be the basis for a detailed evaluation of road and public transit needs.

Scenario A reflects the 1987 'Town Plan Directions'. The CBD is characterized by concentrations of commercial, business, and entertainment opportunities. Existing low density patterns of residential development are retained and a few areas are selected for medium density development. Fifteen outlying regional business centres and major shopping centres with significant retail functions may experience modest increases in office development. Only four of these regional centres are located within Brisbane City limits. Ten distinct industrial based employment districts are included in the scenario, the largest of which lie within City limits. This scenario implies no major requirements to change existing land use and transportation policy, but improvements to the road system are needed to increase the accessibility of the CBD. This scenario generally reflects community expectations.

Scenario B reflects the 1987 Town Plan Directions for employment but includes significant intensification of the residential density within a four kilometre radius of the CBD. The CBD dominates as the focus of business, commercial, and entertainment activities. The number and distribution of regional retail and business centres (which include some high density residential development) are the same as in Scenario A. Residential density would be increased in the area adjacent to the CBD through high rise apartments, townhouses and duplex housing on existing lots. This scenario justifies and demonstrates a greater need for better developed public transit facilities due to increased residential densities and compactness within city limits.

In Scenario C, multi-centred employment and low density residential development are emphasized. The CBD receives a lower development priority than in Scenarios A and B. Instead the business and commercial focus is on 20 regional mixed use employment centres and major shopping centres, 8 of which are located within city limits. The size and distribution of industrial based employment districts are the same as in Scenarios A and B. Scenario C implies a greater reliance on private automobiles as highly-developed public transport facilities would not be viable. Employment opportunities would be located closer to residential areas than in earlier scenarios. Improvements to existing main arteries would be required.

Scenario D reflects land use patterns which would result if market forces were allowed to dominate. The CBD would decline in emphasis and employment corridors would emerge along and between primary access roads. New employment centres would be located at intersections of major corridors. Retail functions and office development would occur at major regional centres and along employment corridors. Low density residential land use would continue with some medium density residential development emerging. The scenario indicates 17 regional business and retail centres and six mixed use employment corridors extending from the CBD to points beyond city limits would emerge. The industrial districts remain unchanged. With this scenario, a public transport system would be difficult to implement and to sustain; people would tend to live and work in the vicinity of the same transportation corridor; and traffic congestion along arterial roads would increase.

The *Brisbane Traffic Study* publication is intended to inform Brisbane citizens of the four options for future development and invites them to respond to the scenarios. The publication goes no further than outlining the scenarios and their general implications.

4 CANBERRA, Australian Capital Territory (ACT)

For thirty years the National Capital Development Commission (NCDC), established in 1957, was responsible for planning, development and construction in the City of Canberra. In the late 1980s, the national government announced plans for these functions to be taken over by a new agency. Under the influence of the NCDC, the City has grown into multi-nuclei metropolis spread over 600 square kilometres with a population in 1988 of 275,000. Until 1976, Canberra was one of Australia's fastest growing urban areas. Annual population increases exceeded 6 percent, and for seven years was above 10 percent.

Terry Birtles paper *Planning Australia's Capital City: Differing Ideas for Canberra* (1988), prepared for the 26th International Geographical Congress, considers the results of planning decisions made in the City over the last hundred years. Birtles contends that planning decisions in Canberra's short history reveal shifts in attitudes towards prevailing planning theory, major modifications to government policy, and the influences of outspoken and articulate leaders of public and private interest groups. The paper focuses on the formal origins of the design ideas for Canberra, national roles, and metropolitan planning.

From about 1920 onwards, the ideas and plans of Chicago's Walter B. Griffith had considerable impact on Canberra's development, although Griffith's popularity and influence rose and declined depending on the government in office. Griffith's designs called for a hilltop pyramid-shaped 'national shrine' with facilities for popular assembly and festivities next to the residences of the governor-general and prime minister. Terraces sloping down the hill would be the locations of the government's executive, legislative, and judicial functions. Across the lake, at the base of this pyramid, would be municipal government agencies, including a university. Griffith's plan provided for a people's arena consisting of public gardens, theatre, opera house, museums, galleries of graphic and plastic arts, baths, gymnasia, stadium, zoo and aquatic gardens. Critics of Griffith's plan pointed out the potential traffic congestion which would result from the concentration of government offices. Nevertheless, Griffith's street layout was accepted as the statutory plan for Canberra in 1925, and has dominated the city centre ever since.

Another major influence on the early planning of Canberra was Ebenezer Howard's Garden City concept. The monumental construction proposed by Griffith was discarded in favour of unpretentious, single storey buildings to house government offices. The concept of the detached bungalow was promoted and cafe-lined European style boulevards were thought to be inappropriate and foreign to Australian culture. All retail activities were to be concentrated in pedestrian oriented 'shopping blocks'.

Birtles suggests that no coordinated policy towards managing Canberra was available during the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s and decisions were made primarily through the ''old boys' network''. The adoption of Treasury accounting practices meant that the

public gaze did not see the many costs of capital territory requirements. The capital city became and remained better equipped with facilities than most other Australian cities of the same size. In 1954, a Senate Select Committee was established: to complete the move of national government functions from Melbourne to Canberra; to develop Canberra as a national capital; to safeguard existing city plan principles; to engage in long term planning; and to respond to the need for some form of local government and input into decision-making. The national roles in Canberra were expanded to include federal courts, a national broadcasting commission, the Commonwealth Bank headquarters, and a national art gallery and 5 other cultural institutions. Perhaps the most important outcome of the Committee's work was the creation of the National Capital Development Commission (NCDC) which operated with an independent city construction budget and had tremendous political support for 30 years in undertaking planning, developing, and construction functions in Canberra.

By 1964, the chief planner of the NCDC envisioned a decentralized, car-reliant community. His plan supported development similar to British 'new towns' and assumed a concentric arrangement of self-sufficient satellite towns separated by greenbelts. A transportation plan in the late sixties recommended reduced dominance of the CBD and the construction of freeways at the edges of urban development. The plan had the potential for indefinite ribbon expansion, and led to a y-shaped corridor concept characterized by low population density and large areas of open space.

Residential planning has been based on 'neighbourhood units', which discourage arterial roads through neighbourhoods and encourage more than 10 percent of the land to be used for cycle and foot paths, parks and playgrounds. The communities were designed for pedestrian access to a primary school and shopping centre. Three to five neighbourhoods together form a district which includes retail, high schools, postal services, and sports fields. Since 1964, planners have had more flexibility in accommodating flats or medium density courtyard or 'cluster' housing. Some infill and rehabilitation of existing housing in the older parts of Canberra have helped to counteract population decentralization to suburban areas. Birtles notes that the NCDC appears not to be self critical when it comes to examining the effects of neighbourhood unit development on social values. For the most part, the NCDC's responses to Canberra's needs have directly reflected what the national government dictates.

In the late eighties, the government announced that national capital development would be transferred to the ACT Administration. A plan which focuses on capital city functions within national areas will be managed apart from a territorial plan, which focuses on the needs of the local population. Canberra will be expected to operate without access to Australian taxpayer contributions. Some preference at the ministerial level has been shown for urban consolidation, but future planning will need to address the trend of population decentralization to bedroom communities outside the ACT. The region surrounding Canberra is characterized by higher unemployment, lower investment, and fewer educational, health, welfare and transport services than found in the capital

city. Birtles concludes his report by calling for a review of Canberra's roles as a regional city serving a large part of south east Australia.

5 MELBOURNE, Victoria

Melbourne's population of 2.9 million is increasingly becoming concentrated in the fringe areas of the region. Only 42 percent of the population now lives within 15 kilometres of the central city. The population is expected to reach 3.3 million by 2001. Employment in the metropolitan area is expected to increase by 25 to 30 percent between 1981 and 2001. In older urban areas the infrastructure is underused, whereas in fringe areas new infrastructure is needed. Other major issues include shifts in the nature of economic activity and the location of workplaces. State government is responsible for regional planning in Australia. The first comprehensive policy to manage growth in metropolitan Melbourne was published by the Ministry for Planning and Environment in 1987. This policy, entitled *Shaping Melbourne's Future*, as well the Ministry document *Central Melbourne: Framework for the Future* (1984) outline the growth management strategies for the region. Toni Logan's article *A Critical Examination of Melbourne's District Centre Policy* (1986) provides insight into one aspect of decentralization in Melbourne.

5.1 Planning for Metropolitan Melbourne

To accommodate the continued rapid growth anticipated during the 1960s and early 1970s, seven urban corridors were designated to channel growth outwards from the urbanized areas. When growth estimates were revised in the 1970s, the number of corridors was reduced to four. 'Green wedges' between the corridors ensure scenic landscapes, farming areas, native vegetation and wildlife habitats are preserved. Today, the benefits of redeveloping existing areas are being realized. A 1986 pilot study of urban consolidation policy and its application to Melbourne showed a net economic benefit of about $29,000 (approx. $31,000 CAN) for each household added to an established area rather than to the fringe. This figure includes a direct net financial saving for governmental agencies of $3,500 (approx. $3,700 CAN) resulting from a reduced need for new infrastructure. To counteract the negative effects of urban sprawl, people will be encouraged to remain in developed areas. More medium density housing will be provided in middle and outer ring suburbs,in order to increase the affordable housing options available to young and older adults.

The development plan argues for urban consolidation to: improve access to employment, retail, and service opportunities; reduce total travel cost and cross-metropolitan travel; and increase public transit use. Since about 55 percent of Central City traffic is through traffic, the plan proposes construction of an outer ring route to facilitate cross-metropolitan travel. As the metropolitan economy moves towards knowledge-intensive manufacturing industries and information and technology-based services, the plan recognizes the potential for increased mixed use developments to

accommodate office, warehouse, and manufacturing activities.

Melbourne's economic system consists largely of four small suburban economies around a large central area. Some linkages exist between the economies but all reach out separately to national and international markets. Shifts in employment have resulted in relatively fewer jobs in the central area than in the suburbs. Should this trend continue, workers in less prosperous suburban areas will find their access to local jobs worsens. Youth unemployment rates will rise, public transit will become more difficult to justify, and low-income earners without private transport will find it harder to obtain and keep a job. Within the central area, employment will become more oriented towards white collar workers and the diversity of opportunities which currently exists will disappear.

To promote commercial and industrial growth, the State government recognizes the need to disseminate the findings of research and new technologies throughout the industrial sector. Telecommunications networks and facilities need to be expanded to accommodate growing demand. The plan questions the appropriateness of Melbourne's ample supply of land zoned for industrial uses when trends show industries will increasingly be accommodated in general purpose business zones. Central Melbourne is the region's dominant activity centre, combining office, retail, leisure and civic development and public facilities. Fifteen district centres have been designated in locations generally well served by public transit. Neighbourhood or local centres, strip, and freestanding (shopping) centres are also recognized. High density office development (greater than 4000 sq. m) is encouraged in Central Melbourne, and lower density office development in district centres. Central Melbourne is recognized as the area's primary retail and commercial centre. Major shopping facilities are encouraged for the district centres.

Toni Logan in the article 'A Critical Examination of Melbourne's District Centre Policy' argues that this development policy: (1) undervalues the strong locational preferences and bargaining power of large firms; (2) unrealistically assumes significant change can occur in people's mode of travel; (3) is based on inflated estimates on the savings gained in the provision of utilities; and (4) does not recognize the limited resources and varying levels of commitment of the agencies responsible for implementation. According to Logan, the district centre policy is now being more flexibly interpreted, as a result of initial incorrect assumptions.

The Government's metropolitan policy makes the need for cooperation between the State and local government around social development planning clear. Greater area-based coordination of the physical, economic and social sectors, and human services agencies is proposed and local councils are encouraged to prepare social development plans.

5.2 Planning for Central Melbourne

The State Government's document *Central Melbourne: Framework for the Future* focuses primarily on land use and development opportunities aimed at implementing elements of the Government's Economic Strategy. *The Strategy Plan of Melbourne City Council*, on the other hand, provides detailed policy objectives in the areas of service delivery, mobility, and maintenance of employment, housing, and leisure opportunities.

To maximize Melbourne's competitive strength, government policies focus on increasing the City's specialist role as a national and international commercial, trading, cultural and tourist centre. The government will develop a framework to increase growth and specialization in port, freight and industrial activities, corporate headquarters, scientific and educational facilities, major sporting, cultural, tourist, and entertainment facilities, and major legal and government facilities. A strategy to concentrate activities in particular locations will also be developed. The Government is committed to putting selected plots of its land on the market to provide investment opportunities for the commercial sector. Development plans will be prepared to improve the efficiency and relevance of existing development controls in the City of Melbourne and adjacent areas. If necessary, the Government will introduce special legislation in its effort to consolidate centres of activity, such as the Arts Centre (cultural focus) and Chinatown (ethnic focus). The Government's intention is to provide investment opportunities outside the area that is currently the focus of private sector investment.

Government policies aimed at improving transportation in Inner Melbourne include: (1) implementing streetcar priority in the inner neighbourhood zone and at appropriate traffic signals; (2) introducing bus priority measures (3) making changes to routes and the design of facilities to facilitate transfers and linkages between modes of transport; and (4) maintaining low cost, short-distance travel throughout Central Melbourne with a neighbourhood fare system. The strategy proposes diverting through traffic to routes at the outskirts of the central area, well removed from entertainment and retail areas. Although in the short-term bypass routes could be designated, some road improvement and new construction would be required in the future to adequately accommodate heavy trucks. The function of different roads in and around the city centre will be more clearly defined and traffic management measures to redirect and reduce traffic will be progressively introduced. Adequate short term parking facilities will be made available, but long stay (commuter) parking will be discouraged in congested areas (through inverse pricing of parking spaces and converting lots over to short terms use only). In new central area and fringe developments, the spaces allotted for commuter parking will continue to be limited to keep peak period traffic congestion from escalating.

The development strategy also proposes a physical framework for enhancing the City's physical assets, such as heritage features, historical buildings, the Yarra River, parklands, and the waterfront. Environmental, landscaping and access improvement projects will be used to create and maintain north-south and east-west corridors or

boulevards which provide a link between designated physical assets. The Government's strategy concludes with examples of development proposals and locations where significant Crown land can be turned into promising development sites.

6 SYDNEY, New South Wales

In 1986 the population of Sydney reached 3.4 million. Current trends suggest Sydney will continue to grow by 1 percent per year, resulting in an additional 1 million people by the year 2011. The late eighties was characterized by an urgency to find alternatives to low-density suburban growth and the high cost of providing new infrastructure to developing areas. Other pressing issues include a slowdown in economic growth and increasingly strained transportation facilities. Employment in the City of Sydney declined from 220,000 to 190,000 jobs between 1971 and 1981.

The New South Wales Department of Planning is responsible for regional planning in Sydney, though this has not always been the case. In 1948 The Cumberland County Council presented a plan for the region which became law in 1951. In the early 1960s, State government dismantled the Council and all possibility of a future Greater Sydney Government. By 1964, the State Planning Authority (SPA) was established with a mandate to coordinate the development plan of 40 municipalities. Unlike the Cumberland County Council, the SPA was under the control and direction of the State minister, and had access to substantial State revenue as well as land acquisition and development powers. The SPA could have greater control over urban growth than the County Council. In 1974, the SPA became part of the Planning and Environment Commission which changed from a statutory authority into a State department in 1980.

Planning Sydney's Future (1988) by Peter Spearritt and Christina De Marco traces the urban development of Sydney from the eighteenth century through to the present and speculates on the City's direction in the next century. This publication was commissioned by the NSW Department of Planning. The Department of Environment and Planning discussion paper *A Centres Policy for the Sydney Region* (1985) provides insight into a key regional planning strategy for managing mixed use development. The working paper by David Wilmoth and James R. Conner, *Sydney's Metropolitan Strategy* describes the State Government's approach to developing a regional strategy and how it differs from previous attempts. This paper is part of a series published by the Australian National University. Following is an overview of the major growth management issues and strategies since 1950 which are associated with the Cumberland County Council, the SPA, and the NSW Department of Planning and Environment.

6.1 The Cumberland County Council

Cumberland planners in the late forties noted that public transit enables 'concentric development of local centres'. Uncontrolled mobility as a result of the private automobile coupled with land speculation were blamed for the great urban sprawl and undesirable development pattern. Housing estates were built without proper infrastructure in place

or possibilities for nearby employment opportunities. Industrial activities emerged on whatever land could be cheaply acquired. The Council's plan for growth management proposed a central zone and urban districts. The central zone, consisting of the City of Sydney and adjacent areas, would be the location of government and administrative functions, institutions for higher education and the arts, commercial and industrial activities, and special shopping, entertainment, and accommodation facilities. Urban districts would be largely self-sufficient with their own shopping, entertainment, cultural, and educational opportunities. Local industrial areas would also be developed which could function independently but with special advantages as a result of their proximity to the central zone. The districts also would provide significant residential opportunities and would be serviced by the City with amenities which can only be supported by a population of 100,000 to 150,000. Open space would be used to integrate the multi-use development and to separate districts from one another.

One element of the County Plan which is still carried on today is the fund set up for public land acquisition. The State provides half of the funding and the rest comes from local councils. Much of the shoreline of 2 rivers and hundreds of kilometres of land reserved for roads have been acquired. Cumberland County argued that the priority in transportation funding should be put on public transit. It wanted all motor vehicles banned from retail areas. In the past three decades, only a few communities have added small pedestrian-oriented sections in their retail areas. State government dismantled the tram system between 1948 and 1961 and partially replaced it with bus service.

The green belt proposed in the County's plan intrigued the public. It was to consist of rural open space (where primary production could still take place) that encircled the urban area, separated districts, and led towards the central zone. This concept lasted for less than a decade, as the State released large tracts of land for much needed residential development.

6.2 The State Planning Authority

The SPA was responsible for the *Sydney Regional Outline Plan* which appeared in 1968. The underlying assumptions of the Plan were rooted in local and national economic forecasts. The Plan assumed significant growth in the manufacturing workforce would occur especially in the areas of machinery, engineering and electronic equipment. This growth did not occur although some tertiary sector growth was realized. Two principles of the County Plan were maintained: expansion of industrial and commercial employment should occur along rail lines and new urban areas should be designed and developed as self-sufficient cities and not bedroom communities. The Authority could only recommend that growth take this direction; it had neither the political power nor the financial resources to make it happen.

Unlike the County Plan, the Outline plan designated corridors and areas where growth could take place. This led to tremendous land speculation as developers bought up rural land with the expectation that eventually subdivisions would be permitted. All of the areas nominated in 1968 were the growth areas in 1980. The plan proposed a regional highway network which would be an alternative to the radial road network focused on Sydney's CBD.

6.3 Department of Planning

The Department of Planning's metropolitan strategy is outlined in *Sydney into its Third Century*, released in 1988. This strategy provides a framework for future development and redevelopment, but like its predecessors, the responsibility for land use zoning is left with the local councils. Urban consolidation is one of the key policy areas of the framework. For new areas, residential densities are targeted to increase somewhat from about eight lots per hectare to ten lots per hectare. Further, in new developments a target of 20 percent for townhouses and flats has been set. In already developed areas the strategy proposes increasing densities by: constructing second dwellings that can be built as separate structures; using surplus government-owned land; decreasing lot sizes; and easing zoning controls to permit the construction of townhouses and villas. Four new growth sectors are identified. For the most part they continue the linear pattern of development along transportation corridors established in the 1968 Plan. Some new transportation corridors will be required to link new growth areas with one or more major centres.

Two centres, one of which is Sydney's CBD, are designated as the most important regional centres. The CBD will remain the dominant government, financial, tourist, and entertainment centre. This designation is intended to help stop the outflow of jobs from the area. The second centre is more centrally located than the CBD and is highly accessible by transit. It will be developed to improve retail, service, and employment opportunities to a large portion of the city which does not have easy access to the CBD. The centre is expected to have about 60,000 jobs by 2010. Market interests will determine how quickly the subregional centres grow. Trends in suburban employment growth show that the centres located nearest to Sydney's CBD are the preferred development sites. The centres' policy, however, is committed to promoting an equitable distribution of employment throughout the region. Thus, measures to attract commercial growth and improve infrastructure will be directed at the less favoured areas. A limited number of business parks will be permitted in the regional and subregional centres.

An arterial road network is proposed to facilitate high volume, long-distance travel. Rail will continue as the most important mode of long-distance public transport. As development extends further from the rail lines, bus service will be coordinated with rail service. To promote economic development in new growth areas, industry will be

provided with appropriately located and well-serviced land early in the development process. Land acquisition for planning purposes will continue through the Sydney Region Development Fund. The Urban Development Program, introduced in 1981, tries to ensure that the supply of land for all housing markets meets demand, as a means of preventing price inflation due to land shortages. A committee of representatives from twenty government agencies oversees the program and decides on the location, size, and timing of each residential development area.

David Wilmoth in the paper *Sydney's Metropolitan Strategy* reflects on the approach taken in developing the strategy as well as the planning objectives, policies and instruments for implementation. Wilmoth notes that the strategy's urban consolidation policies would require 323,000 residential lots per year, assuming 12,000 multi-unit housing starts each year, until Sydney reaches the target population of 4.5 million. The number of lots required with a dispersed development option would be 358,000. The difference in the number of lots required means commencement of a major new development sector could be deferred by three years. The strategy aims to reverse the trend of declining population densities in established urban areas by an active dual occupancy policy, development of surplus government sites for multi-unit housing, and spot public housing development. Greater efficiency in the planning and development process will be the means for increasing the affordability of housing, although the trend towards passing on the real costs of urban expansion to developers and households could counteract this measure.

Wilmoth points out that regional development strategies of the 1970s generally viewed CBDs as overdeveloped. The 1988 strategy, however, again recognizes the importance of the CBD and the role it plays as an international corporate and financial centre. The CBD is expected to have 30,000 more jobs by 2013, to reach a total of 220,000, while the second regional centre is supposed to increase by 35,000 jobs to reach 60,000 as a result of consolidation policies. Dispersed growth options would result in only 10,000 new jobs for the latter centre. Policies to promote development of the second regional centre include infrastructure improvements such as a ring road system, freeway development, and improved rail, bus and parking facilities. The relocation of State offices to this centre will draw more than 5,000 employees from the CBD and outlying centres. With the development of 16 subregional centres and two new sectors, 30 percent of the region's employment is expected to be located in regional and sub-regional centres as compared to only 21 percent with dispersed growth options.

One of the most important public financing policies is to establish major government land acquisition programs before new growth sectors are rezoned for urban use. This policy is of particular importance for sites expected to become major centres. Reliance on developer contributions and 'user pay' principles is seen as a potential threat to the equity objectives of the strategy. Continued government involvement in land development is called for.

Wilmoth suggests that the distinction between statutory and non-statutory means of implementation is often exaggerated. The metropolitan strategy plan itself is not expressed in statutory form, but many parts of it will be. Regional environmental plans are being prepared for new sectors which will allow the Urban Development Program (a mechanism for coordination) to evaluate the release and timing of the sectors. Once included in the program, LEPs, a major statutory element of the Urban Development Program provide for the commitment of local services and capital financing. For some urban issues, State Environmental Planning Policies are appropriate implementation tools. For example, State policy on aged housing promotes urban consolidation.

Conner's remarks in the paper *Sydney's Metropolitan Strategy: A Comment* consider the purpose of the strategy and how it differs from its predecessors. The author acknowledges the need for new guidelines for local government in handling regional planning issues. He cautions, however, that the State has used the 'bulldozer' approach to achieve its planning objectives. (eg. When the State was in conflict with the City of Sydney over the development of Darling Harbour, the former set up a separate management authority to oversee the project.) Conner does not feel the strategy and its urban consolidation policies will keep inner metro-suburban populations from declining. His prediction is based on the State government's own report on urban consolidation (1986). This report showed that targets were not being met in building starts and federal economic and financial considerations were of paramount concern. Federal actions such as a crackdown on tax laws, negative gearing and capital gains were shown to have an impact on a region's ability to achieve consolidation objectives.

7 MONTREAL, Québec

The Greater Montréal Area has a population of approximately 3 million. The Montreal Urban Community (MUC), consists of 28 municipalities including the City of Montréal. The autonomous suburban municipalities have populations ranging from a little over a thousand to almost 95,000. The MUC was formed in 1970 as a result of provincial legislation which forced a merger of metropolitan services including public security, public transport, water purification, sewage disposal, regional parks, and environmental surveillance. Renewed interest at the political level in decentralization may be a planning issue in the nineties in Montréal. Decentralization as a planning priority could lead to a one great cluster of villages and neighbourhoods. The City of Montréal's *Central District Master Development Plan* (1990) and Luther Allen's *The Politics of Planning: Evaluating the Development Plan of the Montreal Urban Community* (1988) were used to prepare the following overview of planning and development issues. Allen's paper was prepared for the Canadian Urban and Housing Studies Conference.

7.1 Planning for the Central District

The Central District is the core of the Greater Montréal Area and has a population of more than 50,000. Employment in the District has reached 225,000 jobs, 50 percent of which are office jobs. Almost 70 percent of the office space for the whole metropolitan area is located in the district. The average growth rate of office space is 83,000 square metres per year. The City of Montréal's Master Plan for the Central District has three objectives: (1) to ensure the economic vitality of the Central District and its continued importance in Québec's economy; (2) to improve the urban environment; and (3) to increase the number of residents living in the District despite the large concentration of activities already present.

Twenty percent of the Central District is currently made up of vacant land and parking lots. The Master Plan supports the development of 1 million square metres of office space over the next ten years. This would result in 40,000 new jobs. This growth represents a 20 percent increase over the annual growth rate during the past 30 years. Strategies to encourage construction of office space include authorizing higher density development and giving priority to projects on the main arteries serving the business district where the greatest potential for development is located. Further, the conversion of a downtown expressway into an urban boulevard would justify development of adjacent land and would provide a gate way for the business district. Mixed-use development will be encouraged near metro stations which are just outside the business district. Higher densities will be permitted near the metro stations than in the surrounding residential areas to accommodate new office, retail and residential growth.

To meet the objective of creating 10,000 new dwellings in the Central District over the next 10 years (a 30 percent increase), discriminatory bylaws restricting residential construction to a lower density than other types of projects will be eliminated. To promote retail development, ground floor occupancy by retail establishments and community facilities will be encouraged. Commercial occupancy of floors about ground level along designated portions of streets will also be authorized. Indoor shopping malls and department stores will be restricted to the district's main commercial artery and sites served by the Metro system.

The plan aims to maintain existing manufacturing and industrial zones which are compatible with other land uses in the Central District. A small amount of office and wholesaling activity will be permitted in these areas. By-laws concerning industrial areas will encourage the development of industries which complement activities in the business district. By-laws will also be modified to allow compatible industrial uses such as research and development centres, printing, and photographic laboratories to be located in predominantly office and commercial activity areas.

The City is opposed to increasing the accessibility of the Central District through further highway construction and will rely on public transit to accommodate the planned growth. In addition to new rapid transit construction, one measure to improve public transit and discourage automobile use will be reserved rush hour lanes for buses and taxis along four main north-south access routes.

The plan attaches considerable importance to promoting the Central District as a desirable location for development and for companies to establish themselves. In addition, it will be promoted as attractive to tourists and able to accommodate international organizations and activities.

7.2 MUC's Regional Planning

Luther's paper on the development plan of the Montreal Urban Community considers the nature of the region's planning process over the past 20 years as well as the limits to any extension of metropolitan government, the impact of the Montreal Citizen's Movement on the MUC, and public transit issues.

Planning services of the MUC are organized separately from the Community's Executive Committee and Council. Administrative liaison does occur between the directors of MUC services and the Executive Committee, but formal coordination of planning with other services is not included. The region's development plan, which received ministerial approval late in 1987, is more a response to development and political pressures from Montréal and suburban areas than it is a tool for shaping development. For example, MUC planners called for the development of two

sub-regional centres, both of which were already underway as the plan was being prepared. A third centre was later added. Montréal wanted greater stress put on its mixed use downtown area, while suburban mayors promoted the idea of preserving traditional centres. The plan appeared to give these distinct development priorities equal weight. The plan provided no operational conceptualization and objectives were only generally defined in terms of quality of life and balance. Allen suggests that the plan is a framework that institutionalizes decentralization within which municipal autonomy is exercised.

Autonomy from City of Montreal decision-making is crucial to the suburban cities. One thesis to explain the suburbs wishes for autonomy is the greater proportion of anglophones living in these communities. Allen, however, points to the economic differences between wealthy residential suburbs, suburbs with diversified tax bases, and Montreal in explaining the struggle for autonomy. By 1982, half of the members on the MUC Executive Council were from suburban communities and half were from Montréal, which ended Montreal's ability to dominate regional government.

Urban planning costs account for less than 2 percent of the MUC's budget, while public transport and public security account for 35 percent and 39 percent respectively. The public transport sector in Montréal has been the target of more substantial planning than other sectors. When the MUC was formed, the planning, operation and priorities of the transit commission (which began in the City of Montréal) fell under the auspices of the MUC. MUC communities became rivals during the 1980s in competing to propose and ensure priority for underground and surface routes which would best serve their community. One critical long term issue will be how the MUC and the Province, through a joint agreement, ensure that metropolitan area residents outside the MUC contribute to the costs of the transit commission. A more threatening issue may be the new priority the Province is placing on auto-routes and the reduction in the demand for mass transit that could result.

Allen concludes his paper by suggesting that real planning, a recent phenomenon in Montréal, is taking shape at the municipal level. Suburban municipalities prefer to remain autonomous and argue for decentralization rather than engage in overall planning.

8 GREATER VANCOUVER REGIONAL DISTRICT, British Columbia

Between 1976 and 1989, the population of Greater Vancouver grew by about 275,000 people to reach 1,440,000. In the next 15 years the population is expected to increase by about 300,000. About 60 percent of new growth will likely occur in newly developing suburbs in the eastern part of the region. In 1976 the region had approximately 515,000 jobs. By 1986, employment had reached 635,000, and current forecasts suggest that employment will rise to over 900,000 by the end of the century.

Greater Vancouver is made up of 16 municipalities and 3 unincorporated areas. The central municipalities in the region are largely built up and suburban municipalities are having to accommodate new growth and plan for more roads, utilities, schools, and other public services. Outward growth of the metropolitan area is severely restricted by the region's geography and proximity to valuable farm and recreational land. Growth can occur through infill development, redevelopment, and outward development in designated areas. The physical limits to growth have made Greater Vancouver and the Fraser Valley more susceptible to speculative land prices than other Canadian metropolitan areas.

The Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD) is engaged in long range regional planning exercises for the metropolitan area. *The Livable Region 1976-1986* (1975) and *The Livable Region, A Strategy for the 1990s* (1989) are among Greater Vancouver's key growth management policy documents. In addition, Greater Vancouver is one of four districts who contributed to the Plan for the Lower Mainland (Fraser Valley). The Plan, completed in 1980, is the basis for the Official Regional Plan Bylaws adopted in the four districts. Douglas MacKay's *Review of Regional District Boundaries in the Lower Mainland* (1988) provides insight into current and upcoming intergovernmental planning issues. Mackay's report was commissioned by the British Columbia Ministry of Municipal Affairs and the Central Fraser Valley Regional District.

8.1 GVRD Regional Planning Strategies

The GVRD is mandated to provide essential regional services, including: regional water supply, regional parks, air pollution control, regional hospital capital financing, social housing, liquid waste treatment, solid waste disposal, and regional development services. The Livable Region Strategy focuses on residential growth, employment, regional town centres, transit, and open space. Residential growth targets are set for each part of Greater Vancouver. The targets are based on concerns such as the preservation of open space and recreational opportunities, minimizing travel time to employment and services, and minimizing disruption to existing communities. To meet growth targets, new housing needs to be provided in Vancouver, achievable by gradually increasing the densities of

some neighbourhoods. In new residential areas, the strategy calls for single-family dwellings to be built on smaller lots and increased support for compact housing developments at densities somewhere between the traditional single-family subdivision and three-storey apartment districts.

A balance of jobs to population in each part of the region is aimed for. Regional town centres are valued as a means of decentralizing jobs, shopping, and cultural opportunities to suburban residential areas. Further they are hubs for the transit system. By decentralizing office employment to six regional centres, downtown transportation problems will be reduced. Downtown Vancouver's role as one of Canada's principal business centres and the region's international focus will be maintained and enhanced. The minimum size for a Regional Centre is 1 million square feet (92903 sq. metres) of office space and gross annual retail sales in the order of $50 million. The Centre would serve a population of 100,000 to 150,000. The design is to be pedestrian oriented and no particular activity like office or retail facilities should dominate the development.

A transit-oriented transportation system is seen as the 'backbone' of regional development and will ensure the viability of the Regional Town Centres. The strategy favours investing future transportation funds into transit improvements rather than into expressway and bridge construction. Improved public transit access to popular recreational facilities is also recommended. The open space strategy emphasizes retaining views of the mountains and the sea, protecting wilderness areas and providing access to recreation.

The regional strategy for the nineties suggests two main avenues for implementation. First, the strategy is intended to guide and direct further work in the areas of transportation, economy, regional landscape and regional centres. It also provides a context for planning services such as parks, social housing and environmental protection. The strategy also can be the basis for seeking federal and provincial assistance in regional development projects and is a context for private sector investment. Second, the strategy provides municipalities with a regional context. To be effective, all municipalities need to reflect these objectives in their municipal official plans and action programs. Following the publication of *The Livable Region 1976-1986* and numerous public meetings, municipalities were given the opportunity to continue managing growth on their own or to work together through the GVRD. Commitment to the regional plan required municipalities to agree to make decisions about growth targets and to persuade senior levels of government to accept the proposals for growth management.

8.2 Growth Management Strategies for the Lower Mainland

The *Guide to the Plan for the Lower Mainland* summarizes planning objectives for the area. The first plan for the Lower Mainland was enacted by the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board in 1966. Since 1968 the administration and updating of the Plan has been the responsibility of the four districts: Greater Vancouver Regional District, Dewdney-Alouette Regional District, Central Fraser Valley Regional District, and the Fraser Cheam Regional District. Following review and revision of the plan by the Province, Regional Districts, their member municipalities, the updated Lower Mainland Plan was adopted in 1980.

The objectives of the Plan are to preserve farmland, floodplains, environmental quality, natural assets, renewable natural resources, economic viability, and recreational opportunities. Further, the plan aims to: increase choices in housing, employment and shopping; strengthen community identity and self-sufficiency; improve access to diverse recreational opportunities; encourage more economic and efficient transportation for people and goods; increase opportunities for diverse industrial development; and ensure farming is a viable livelihood.

The development strategies include: (1) protecting farmland and natural areas from urban and industrial development; (2) locating most of the population growth in the metropolitan area and five valley towns; (3) promoting higher residential densities; (4) concentrating new commercial employment and higher density housing in and around the metropolitan core and existing Regional Centres; and (5) providing transportation and physical services which will support the development concept. The plan goes beyond objectives, strategies and guidelines by identifying centres for higher density commercial and residential growth and corridors for future regional transportation facilities. Planning coordination is the responsibility of the Lower Mainland Planning Review Panel which has an advisory role. The panel is composed of representatives from the four Districts.

Douglas Mackay in reviewing regional district boundaries notes six issues which need intergovernmental consideration: air pollution control, transportation, healthcare and hospitals, solid waste disposal, police service, and land use and demographic reporting. Mackay argues for a coordinated effort in administering the provincial Waste Management Act (which contains air pollution controls); planning for future solid waste facilities and area-wide recycling; in transportation planning and implementation; and resource-sharing among police departments in purchasing equipment, training, commercial and organized crime investigations, and communications.

9 LONDON, England

London is in the heart of the South East regional planning area. The South East has a population of 17.3 million. After a long period of decline, London's population has experienced some growth and has reached 6.9 million. The South East is critical in terms of the national economy: it is responsible for 40 percent of the national product. The area, however, is not uniformly prosperous. Between 1979 and 1986, the number of unemployed adults rose by 242 percent in London and 224 percent in the South East as a whole. London lost 25 percent of its manufacturing jobs between 1968 and 1974, and nearly that amount again by the end of the seventies. The trend continued into the eighties with a further 30 percent decline in employment in this sector. In the seventies, service sector employment grew dramatically, resulting in labour shortages in some parts of the region. In the eighties a surplus supply of labour and a slow down in growth led to high unemployment. Retailing has been an area of rapid growth. Between 1971 and 1984, shopping floorspace in London and some counties increased by 29 percent.

The most pressing regional planning issues for the South East are described in terms of 'overheating' and 'congestion'. Overheating refers to local or temporary growth rates which can not be maintained over the long term. It results in shortages in labour and housing markets and contributes to cost inflation. Congestion is a symptom of overheating and may be due to rapid growth and expansion or under-investment in the past. Typical journeys to work are 40 percent longer than 20 years ago and passenger miles on the London Underground increased by 71 percent between 1982 and 1988. As a result of suburbanization, the traditional radial development pattern extending from London's central core outwards has been lost.

The London and South East Regional Planning Conference (SERPLAN) is make up of representatives from the London Borough Councils and the county and district councils for Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, East Sussex, Essex, Hampshire, Hertfordshire, the Isle of Wight, Kent, Oxfordshire, Surrey and West Sussex. SERPLAN advises the Secretary of State for the Environment on regional planning issues and appropriate strategies. The Secretary of State then publishes regional strategic guidance documents which provide the context for County Structure Plans, District Plans, and London borough Unitary Development Plans. SERPLAN's consultation paper *Shaping the South East Planning Strategy* (1990) provides a view of the state of the region and contains policy suggestions for growth management. The Department of the Environment's *Strategic Planning Guidance for London* (1989) and London Planning Advisory Committee's document *Strategic Planning Advice for London* (1988) set out policies and priorities relating to issues which affect London as a whole or at least two boroughs.

9.1 Planning for the South East

SERPLAN puts their strategy in the context of sustaining the region's environment in the widest possible sense. The concept of Green Belts is a cornerstone of the regional strategy. Green belts are a means of limiting urban sprawl, protecting the countryside from further development, preventing neighbouring towns from merging, and assisting in urban regeneration. Economic, housing, and transportation policies are all tied to the general priority of environmental improvement.

Economic policies emphasize maintaining and enhancing the region's overall economic condition and improving the way labour, land, and capital are used rather than striving for increases in the number of jobs and other growth indicators. This approach is intended to relieve local economies of the pressures of 'overheating'. SERPLAN recommends that a comprehensive approach to improving infrastructure, physical and social environments, and transport be undertaken. Through development plans, local authorities are encouraged to ensure a continuous supply of land is available for industrial and commercial development. Special attention is urged for the existing opportunity areas concentrated in inner London and elsewhere, but areas suffering from overheating must not be encouraged to develop beyond the capacity of their land supply and labour market.

Regional housing policies are considered crucial to the revitalisation of older urban areas. The strategy aims to make fuller use of existing urban land and capital assets. Areas where substantial housing stock is in disrepair must receive a high planning and investment priority. Issues of higher densities should be tackled by local authorities through their local plans. SERPLAN's recommendations for new Department of Environment regional guidelines include: (1) obtaining more consistent and long term government funding for renovation and maintenance of housing stock; (2) adjusting the General Needs Index to allow for targeting of resource allocations to the most needy areas; and (3) encouraging more public/private joint partnerships between building societies, financial institutions (including pension funds), development companies, housing associations and local authorities. In the short term, large new town developments are deemed inappropriate, although some new settlements with populations in the 3,000 to 15,000 range may be justified in parts of the region beyond the Green Belt.

Transportation policies of SERPLAN emphasize the need to approach development planning from the perspective of trying to reduce the need for travel. Higher density development is urged at focal points of the transit system. New development should be located in areas where the system has spare capacity. Expenditure is urged for new mass transit links as well as renewal and improvement of the existing public transit infrastructure. New roads are not recommended unless they are accompanied by a firm package of traffic management measures. In Central London and some town centres, the use of the private automobile needs to be more controlled. SERPLAN urges greater policy coordination between all levels involved in transport

planning and service provision.

9.2 Planning for London

The *Department of Environment*'s guidelines for London are intended as a context for the preparation of development controls, or Unitary Development Plans (UDPs) by each borough. The objectives of the guidelines which should be reflected in UDPs include: (1) fostering economic growth; (2) contributing to the revitalization of older urban areas; (3) facilitating the development of transport systems which are safe, efficient and respectful of the environment; and (4) maintaining established town centres and residential districts.

To counteract the growing imbalance of economic development in the region (development pressures are stronger in the West), policies will be aimed at improving the attractiveness of the East. Regeneration projects, a planned new rail link, and massive road improvements are among the strategies for promoting commercial interest in the East. UDPs are urged to support this policy direction by identifying well-serviced, accessible sites for job-creating development. This approach is considered more realistic than designating particular 'growth points' or 'centres'. Boroughs are not encouraged to reserve land for general industrial use when there is no prospect of this type of development occurring. In cases where more industrial land is available than needed, the guidance urges release of some of the land for other uses, especially housing. UDPs are encouraged to provide for the site needs of small and expanding businesses which are expected to be key players in employment growth. Existing town centres are to be the main focal point for retail facilities. Planning policy aimed at modernising town centres might consider development of pedestrian facilities, provision of more parking spaces, and the importance of public transit .

The guidelines state that UDPs should be prepared to reflect the investment programs of the British Rail Network South East and the London Regional Transport, and proposed new highways. Both public transit agencies are putting record levels of investment towards upgrading facilities. Two recent rail studies propose extensions to the rail network, and, if approved, will need to be incorporated into UDPs. For automobile users, the government wants greater use made of London's network of trunk and designated roads instead of alternative routes through unsuitable streets and residential areas. The guidance proposes traffic management measures such as small-scale engineering measures on trunk roads, improvement of the traffic light system, support to driver information systems, and better parking controls (especially increasing or limiting off-street parking facilities depending on the area).

Adequate housing is expected to be provided through the conversion and sub-division of the existing housing stock and the construction of new dwellings on under-used or recycled urban land. In finding land for additional housing, conservation

policies for the Greenbelt and Open space areas should be respected. The Department of the Environment does not think it is appropriate to set London-wide guidelines for housing densities and leaves this responsibility up to the boroughs.

The *London Planning Advisory Committee (LPAC)*, was set up in November 1985 by the City of London and all 32 boroughs. It came about as a result of the dismantling of the Greater London Council. One councillor is appointed from each of the city and borough governments to sit on LPAC. The Committee provides advice to the Ministry of the Environment with respect to the planning guidance for boroughs. LPAC comments on land use issues as well as economic and social matters. In some cases LPAC argues for more detailed objectives for various policy areas than the ministry's guidance provides. LPAC ideas (eg. around provisions for small businesses) are reflected in the ministry's planning guidance. LPAC also provides guidance to boroughs in preparing their UDPs. Housing, economic development, and retailing are three of the Committee's policy areas.

In the housing policy area, LPAC wants the priority put on providing low cost housing rather than just meeting market demand. It proposes that at least 25 percent of larger new building schemes be provided for buyers or renters on low and middle incomes who are unable to gain access to local market housing. Further, the general presumptions that (1) rehabilitation of the housing stock is favoured over demolition and (2) existing or potential housing must not be lost to other uses should be affirmed.

LPAC recommends increased attention be paid to concentrating business uses in particular areas. These concentrations would prevent the loss of housing, community services, and open space in other areas. It urges identification of suitable areas for commercial development and affirmation of the presumption that outside these areas, development would not be permitted. LPAC proposes that identified Strategic Centres be the main focus of major new retail investment and that no one Centre be allowed to weaken the viability and vitality of another Centre. Further decentralization of community, commercial and health facilities away from established town centres is discouraged due to lack of transit access.

10 MOSCOW, Soviet Union

Urban growth in Moscow has occurred in a star-shaped configuration, radiating out in all directions from the City's central core. In past decades, the fringe areas of the metropolitan area have continued to be the location of new growth. The construction of metro and rail lines has supported the growth occurring in all suburban areas. Alexei Gutnov in the article *What Will Moscow be Like?* looks at the need for urban rehabilitation, which he argues is a critical issue facing planning and development decision-makers in Moscow.

Gutnov uses the term 'concealed reconstruction' to describe his approach to rehabilitating older areas of Moscow. In areas where resources and facilities can be reused, the author urges architects and developers to find ways to conceal the new development within the older, existing development. With respect to the General Development Plan for Moscow, designed to guide Moscow's growth until the year 2010, Gutnov suggests less emphasis should be placed on the city centre and more attention should be placed on the many different zones or towns which are within the metropolitan area. Further, planning policy geared specifically to each zone is recommended.

The author argues for rehabilitation of existing urban areas instead of new suburban growth with reference to the burden that new infrastructure (especially the Metro) puts on the rest of the City. Gutnov would like to see cooperation with the business community to achieve redevelopment in the middle areas of Moscow which contain industrial lands as well as housing and social infrastructure. In outlying residential areas which are 15 or 20 years old, redevelopment that humanizes the living environment is urged. This could be achieved by focusing on courtyards, local streets, and well- organized interiors in a range of building types.

Gutnov's concluding remarks urge Moscow's architects to become leaders in the rehabilitation process. Cooperation between architects, the building industry and the city planning office is required to generate a realistic program of social, economic, and physical planning for Moscow.

11 CHICAGO METROPOLITAN REGION, Illinois

The Chicago metropolitan region consists of six counties, 261 municipalities, 113 township governments, 313 school districts and 503 special districts (such as library, transit, park and sewage districts). In 1986, the region's population reached 7, 307,000. Over the past 30 years, the region's population increased by 2 million people. Fifteen percent growth is anticipated by 2010. A multitude of single and multi-issue agencies and several levels of government are currently involved in aspects of regional planning in the Chicago area. To date, no single regional planning authority exists to oversee and coordinate these efforts. Development decisions in the Chicago metropolitan area are made without reference to any enforceable regional growth management strategy.

Transportation is one of the Chicago's most pressing regional planning issues. Severe traffic congestion lasting well beyond the usual daily 'peak periods' has resulted from rapid growth in suburban employment opportunities. Communities are competing for new development without evaluating the impacts beyond their borders. A shortage of affordable housing in the vicinity of employment corridors means hours of commuting for workers. Not surprisingly, suburban business and commercial development has not occurred at high enough densities to support public transit initiatives. In the coming decades, older built up suburbs are expected to lose population as new growth is concentrated in areas north and west of Chicago. Two satellite cities which once had their base in manufacturing will again become major growth centres. A 21 percent growth in employment is expected for the region by the year 2010, to reach a total of 4,171,000 jobs. More than 75 percent of additional jobs will be located in two suburban counties. The City of Chicago is quickly losing its status as the region's major employment centre to adjacent suburban areas. As employment in manufacturing declines, finance insurance, real estate, and service sector employment will grow.

Hemmens and McBride provide an overview of growth management issues in their paper *Planning and Development Decision Making in the Chicago Region* (1989). They discuss population and economic growth, the nature of Chicago Region governance, a regional transportation planning exercise, and the future options for regional planning in the region.

11.1 Agencies Involved in Planning and Development Decisions

County governments in Illinois generally administer health and social services on behalf of the State and provide services to unincorporated areas. In addition, counties in the Chicago region are increasingly assuming leadership roles in policy-making and development. This new role puts counties in conflict with municipalities which generally operate under home-rule principles. The home-rule model builds strong municipal

governments instead of strong state, county or regional authorities by granting municipalities the power to regulate for the protection of public health, safety, morals, and welfare as well as to licence, tax, and to incur debt. Two of the most rapidly urbanizing counties (Dupage and Lake) have clearly taken on stronger roles in regional planning and development decision-making. Dupage County's role in planning is defined by the following issues: (1) conflicting land uses; (2) flood and storm water management; (3) impacts on inter-community and local road networks; (4) fiscal impacts; (5) recreation and open space needs; and (6) impacts on the land use balance. The counties rely on their role as provider of information to influence sub-regional decision-making.

The major regional planning organization in the region is the *Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission (NIPC)*, which is supported by the State and member governments. The NIPC, created in 1957, functions as a forum for local officials to address intergovernmental issues; a clearinghouse for evaluating regional implications of proposed federal expenditures; a mediator in local disputes; and an advocate and developer of new policy positions on area-wide issues. Since 1968, the NIPC has completed a Comprehensive General Plan for the region, Regional Open Space Plan, Regional Wastewater Plan, Regional Solid Waste Management Policy Plan as well as policy plans on recreation, water quality, overbank flooding, and storm water. Although these plans provide a framework for growth management, they are legally considered as advisory only and contain no enforcement mechanisms. In the area of long range area-wide transportation planning NIPC works jointly with the Chicago Area Transportation Study (CATS), established by the Illinois Department of Transportation.

The *Chicago Area Transportation Study (CATS)* was established by the Illinois Department of Transportation in 1955 to develop the region's first long range transportation plan. This plan, completed in 1962, looked at transportation in one county and a portion of another. By 1971, the original plan was combined with subsequent subregional transportation plans to form an Interim Plan which covered all six counties. CATS has become the forum for developing federally required regional plans. In addition to long-range planning for highways, bridges, and transit equipment, CATS has a short term program of transportation improvements. This program prioritizes how federal capital assistance funds should be used on a yearly basis. CATS also prepared the Regional Airport System Plan.

The *Regional Transportation Authority (RTA)* was created in 1974 by the State legislature to coordinate mass transit in the six county region. Operating responsibility lies with three subsidiaries: a suburban bus division; a commuter rail division; and a division responsible for bus and rapid transit within Chicago and adjacent suburbs. RTA funds and oversees the subsidiaries and plans for the maintenance, development and integration of transit services in the region. A percentage of sales tax within each county goes towards financing the RTA. The authority's strategic plan to the year 2000 focuses on: (1) adopting a market-driven framework for capital and operating decision-making; (2) ensuring predictable multi-year funding; (3) minimizing cost per unit of service; (4)

upgrading the condition of capital assets and maintaining them within funding limits; and (5) building legislative support to implement strategic plans.

In addition to the above agencies, numerous intergovernmental agencies exist in the region (eg. the South Suburban Mayors and Mangers Association). These councils of governments are entirely advisory in nature and are made up of elected officials from two or more area governments. State legislation gives Councils the power to study issues such as health, safety, welfare, education, economic conditions and regional development affecting two or more governmental areas. Further they are authorized to promote cooperation among member governments and make recommendations for action to area governments. The City of Chicago is reported to have little or no involvement with suburban governments. State legislation does encourage cooperation between municipalities to coordinate municipal plans with county and regional plans. This cooperation, however, is not mandated except in recent requirements set forth for solid waste planning and groundwater planning.

11.2 The 2010 Plan

This transportation plan provides insight into regional planning and decision-making processes in the Chicago area. An agreement granted equal responsibility to CATS and NIPC in preparing the plan. NIPC is responsible for ensuring the transportation plan is consistent with the comprehensive development plan. NIPC has a leading role in identifying goals, development policies and growth strategies and providing the land use framework for transportation planning. Further, the Commission assesses the impacts of potential transportation investments on regional development. CATS prepares and tests alternate transportation plans, taking into account system performance, user benefits, costs and revenues, and impacts on air quality. The RTA is also party to the agreement as they are responsible for evaluating public transportation proposals. The Illinois Department of Transportation is responsible for ensuring that the regional plan is consistent with State-wide plans.

The plan calls for five new expressways, an expressway connection, and two tollway improvements. 'Strategic arterials' are proposed to supplement the expressway system. In addition, several corridors to be reserved for expressway development beyond 2010 are suggested. Maintenance and improvement of the present transit system is urged, and eight future transit corridors are designated. From an outsider's perspective, CATS seems to have a bias in favour of highway construction, while NIPC advocates public transit. Hemmens and McBride interviewed officials from the agencies involved in produce the plan to gauge attitudes about the process. The interagency planning process is felt to have progressed smoothly. The strongest criticisms came from RTA who feel the process failed to integrate highway and transit planning and remains divorced from fiscal reality. Critics of the interagency process would argue that the planning exercise

was successful because the issues are neither new nor urgent and no money is available for controversial expensive projects.

11.3 Present and Future Status of Regional Planning

The authors interviewed 16 well-informed individuals from State and regional planning organizations to determine prevailing opinions on the current state of regional planning in the area. Major agencies and local governments were found to have a 'go it alone' attitude when it came to decision-making around major issues (eg. transit funding priorities). When conflicts arise, local governments go to State legislature to resolve regional and sub-regional issues. With respect to implementation, multi-issue regional agencies are seen as having very little influence. RTA and NIPC were found to be the most admired agencies, the former for bringing coherence to regional transit services, and the latter as a source of information and a regional forum. The NIPC, however, was judged as being too weak, but opinion was divided as to whether the agency should be strengthened. The authors found that the following pattern emerged from the responses: (1) single issue regional agencies with operational responsibilities are more accepted than multi-issue organizations; (2) voluntary cooperation in multi-issue agencies ensures local autonomy is maintained; and (3) the State legislature is an appropriate arena for settling conflicts.

Survey respondents reported that the issue of affordable suburban housing has been left out of the planning process and needs to be on future agendas. Housing opportunities have not kept pace with the growth in suburban employment opportunities. Also of concern was the lack of focus on regional economic development by existing agencies and the State. Almost all respondents said the present organizational structure for dealing with regional issues was inadequate. The suggestions for improvement included: (1) creating a strong comprehensive regional agency (which could mean a form of regional government or a strengthened NIPC); (2) greater voluntary cooperation among regional issue decision-makers with emphasis on an issue by issue approach; (3) increased State involvement in regional decision-making; and (4) more local autonomy (an idea which only received limited support).

Hemmens and McBride conclude their paper with three scenarios for future organization of planning and decision-making exercises. First, a strong regional agency could be created by combining CATS and NIPC. The agency would benefit from the incentive to cooperate resulting from access to federal transportation funds. The State would need to give up some of its power with respect to transportation planning. The second scenario emphasizes strengthened sub-regional planning. This could be achieved if counties take on a higher profile role in service provision and development regulation. A council of counties could be used to resolve inter-governmental disputes. This option, however, is in direct opposition to the growing autonomy and power of municipalities

and municipal associations. In addition, it may lead to inequality across the region, depending on the nature and prosperity of the individual counties. The third scenario proposes an increased leadership role for the State, which may be feasible from a bureaucratic viewpoint as state services are already regionalized.

12 DENVER METROPOLITAN REGION, Colorado

The Denver Regional Council of Governments consists of representatives from six counties: Adams, Arapahoe, Boulder, Denver, Douglas, and Jefferson. In addition, 37 municipalities each have representatives on Council. The population for the region for 1990 is estimated at 2,028,900, up 25 percent from the projected 1980 figure. Employment is expected to reach 1,206,200, a 37 percent increase since 1980. Steady growth in population and employment is forecasted for the area over the next two decades. In 1980 the region had 439 square miles (1137 sq. km.) of urbanized land. New urban development since the 1960s has consumed one square mile (2.5 sq. km.) of non-urban area for every 2,000 new residents. Population density in the region has decreased since 1960. The *Regional Development Framework*, adopted by the Denver Regional Council in 1985 describes the regional development principles, needs, policies and implementation actions to the year 2010. Major growth management issues relate to strengthening the Central Business District and directing new growth to designated activity centres.

The framework establishes the following key development principles: compact urban development; a strong CBD with subcore areas distributed throughout the region; communities with a mix of residential, commercial, industrial, and open space land uses; and a development pattern which supports a multi-modal transportation system. In addition to significant wildlife, natural resource and hazardous areas, development is constrained by the need to protect air and water quality and limited water supply, sewage, and transportation systems.

Council promotes the concept of a hierarchy of activity centres to accommodate regional, community, and neighbourhood needs. Regional activity centres provide a focal point for the design of a regional transportation system and the allocation of scarce funding resources. Further, the centres are a means of concentrating rather than dispersing high density urban land uses. Local governments and the private sector are responsible for planning and implementing regional activity centres, an effort which Council supports by their transportation and service facilities planning.

In addition to the emphasis placed on regional activity centres, Council's policies recognize the Denver CBD as the region's major high-density employment centre, major retail centre, and convention, cultural and recreational centre. The framework urges the development of significant residential opportunities adjacent to the CBD, and non-automobile modes of transportation for travel to, from, and within the core area.

The framework includes policies to encourage distinct community identities, to develop and maintain a regional open space system, and to facilitate area-wide cooperation in reinforcing and enhancing the economic competitiveness of the region. Policies encouraging urban reinvestment and rehabilitation appear to receive less emphasis than the policies aimed at new development and growth. The framework

concludes with policies promoting public-private sector support for high priority development and redevelopment needs. In the implementation plan which concludes the framework for development, a metropolitan service area is recognized. The boundary of the area defines the extent of regional infrastructure commitments.

13 HOUSTON, Texas

The City of Houston dominates the metropolitan area of Harris County. The population of Houston in 1980 was 1,594,000, which represents 61 percent of the County's total population. Houston experienced steady economic growth during the 1960s, a development boom in the 1970s and alternating periods of growth and decline during the 1980s. Between 1979 and 1982, employment in Houston grew by an average of 75,000 jobs per year, but 200,000 jobs disappeared between 1983 and 1987. In 1988 the city gained 35,000 jobs. Urban growth in Houston is characterized by developer-led initiatives and urban sprawl. The paper by Robert Thomas, *Ability in the Context of Vulnerability: Urban Growth Decision-making in Houston* (1989) provides insight into the role of the public sector in decision-making in Houston and Harris County. He discusses the state legislation which gives Houston authority, the territorial struggles of cities experiencing suburban growth, the suburban authorities which provide services to newly developed areas, and developers' roles in the urbanization process and service provision.

State legislation permits cities, like the City of Houston, incorporated under the 'home-rule' classification to define and adopt their own charters. Home-rule cities have more authority than most other cities to tax and incur debt, define internal structures, offer services and expand their borders. Up until 1963, home rule cities were legally able to annex land by simple ordinance action without state interference. Although more formal annexation procedures were implemented in 1963, home rule cities were granted 'extra territorial jurisdiction' over land extending one-half to five miles beyond their corporate boundaries. Cities with a population over 100,000 were granted jurisdiction over a five mile radius. As a city annexed land, the boundary of the jurisdiction was proportionately extended. The extra territorial jurisdiction (ETJ) of the City of Houston includes almost all of the unincorporated land in Harris County and portions of six other counties. Within its ETJ, Houston can impose subdivision regulations, approve the creation of municipal utility districts, designate tax-exempt industrial areas and prevent new incorporations from taking place. Houston has enormous potential for growth as a result of its ETJ, while other cities in the county find their growth potential is restricted to areas within their city limits.

Harris County has very little legal authority in comparison with the City of Houston. State legislation treats counties as administrative arms of the state government. Counties are responsible for operating the courts, supervising the jails, administering elections, building and maintaining roads, and establishing libraries and parks.

Unlike most other US cities, growth and development in Houston has been primarily directed by developers due to state and city provisions which permit the private sector and market forces to dominate local decision-making. The provisions for Multi-Utility Districts (MUDs) are among the most beneficial to developers. Developers initiate and establish MUDs in the Houston metropolitan area to provide for the service needs of suburban areas. The city relinquishes all direct control over the development and

construction standards of the services in the MUD but similarly does not have to provide capital funding for the infrastructure. The city does review developers plans before enacting an ordinance to legitimize a new MUD. Developers arrange for a district board to form and for bonds to be marketed. The districts provide developers with significant capital. Houston has the option of annexing a district once a development has reached a desirable debt-to-tax ratio.

For Houston, the MUDs within their extra-territorial jurisdiction means suburban development is occurring without the city having to take on fiscal or political responsibility. This development, however, is shaped by developers' plans, land ownership, and changing economic conditions. Clearly, a serious negative consequence of this growth has been urban sprawl.

At first glance, suburban growth which occurs through MUDs and developer-led initiatives leaves the impression that the City of Houston has taken a passive role in growth management. Thomas, however, concludes his paper by arguing that local government has not been passive. Government is responsible for establishing the rules which allow private sector activities to shape local decisions. MUDs which provide service but do not challenge the authority of the local government and ETJs which limit incorporations in the suburban areas of Houston contribute to this city's control in managing growth in its metropolitan area. Without other local governments to challenge Houston's authority, developers and the business community are able to fully focus their attention on the decisions being made by Houston city officials.

14 NEW YORK CITY AND TRI-STATE REGION

The late eighties in New York City is characterized by a stronger economy than in previous decades. Slum areas in past decades are now the location of new and dynamic enterprises. Although in an eight year period since 1980, the City gained 300,000 jobs, employment in the late eighties is still 300,000 below the 1969 level. Almost a quarter of residents and 40 percent of children live in poverty. Tuberculosis and sexually transmitted diseases are on the rise again and the infant mortality rate is 26 percent higher than the national average. The threat of violence and harassment and inadequate housing remain major concerns facing many New Yorkers. By the year 2000, the City's population is expected to reach 7.5 million, up from the current population (7.1 million) but still below the city's peak population (7.9 million in 1970). New York is expected to remain the preferred residence and principle gateway to the US for most overseas immigrants.

Major growth management issues in New York and the surrounding area include: rapid development of low density suburban and ex-urban land; desperate shortage of housing for low and medium income earners; and long commuting times to workplaces. Many of the region's residents have been shut out of the job market due to low literacy and education levels as the economy has shifted away from manufacturing and moved towards white collar jobs in service and information related industries. Fiscal restraint during the 1970s led to a degradation of public facilities. Roadways, bridges, parks, waterfronts, housing stock, sewers, rail lines, and public schools all require upgrading.

New York City is made up of five boroughs and contains more than one third of the Tri-State Region's population. The City is at the centre of the Tri-State region which consists of portions of New York State, New Jersey, and Connecticut. Since the 1920s, the non-profit Regional Plan Association (RPA) has focused on growth and development issues in the area. RPA prepared plans for the region in the 1920s and 1960s, and is currently preparing their third. The plan is aimed at encouraging better policy decisions in the Region and directing growth into the next century. RPA's publication *Visions for the Region Tomorrow: Toward a New Regional Plan* (1990) describes the program of research, policy development, and public outreach which will be used to develop the new plan. Before looking at regional plans, however, it is relevant to consider the long range plans for New York City, as presented in the *New York Ascendant* (1987), prepared by the Commission on the Year 2000.

14.1 New York City

The report by the Commission on the Year 2000 focuses on the human side of New York: the people, communities, and problems. The Commission asserts that approaches to growth management must enhance New York as a city of opportunity, world class city, city of neighbourhoods and a civil city.

For physical and economic development, the report directs the City to focus on five areas: (1) making the city a less expensive place to do business; (2) expanding the CBD and locating regional centres in each borough; (3) promoting sound development and neighbourhood preservation by revising the zoning ordinance; (4) promoting culture, the arts, and public spaces which make New York unique; and (5) planning and rebuilding a city that is attractive to residents and workers. The waterfront is mentioned as an area with tremendous development potential.

The City is urged to address the housing crisis by: focusing government efforts on financing and building low income housing; relentlessly pursuing strategies to preserve and maintain housing; and easing the path of developers building middle income housing or housing for those who can afford market rates. Interest-rate subsidies and land write downs as a result of government intervention and indirect subsidies such as property tax relief can be used to encourage construction of new middle income housing. Such assistance as tax abatement programs and low-interest loans, combined with strong code enforcement, can be used to maintain and preserve existing housing stock. The Commission suggests that the City's Department of Housing, Preservation and Development become the central coordinator in the development of market-rate housing.

The basic conditions of the City's transportation network need to be changed in order to make public transit the preferred means of transportation. New measures such as higher bridge tolls are suggested to discourage private automobile use.

The Commission's proposal for reducing poverty emphasizes: (1) educating and training residents to prepare them for employment; (2) helping people move from welfare to work; (3) early intervention with support services for families in trouble; and (4) strengthening neighbourhoods with high concentrations of poor people. Increased accountability in the criminal justice system is urged. Increased use of house arrest, community service, and probation to deal with non-violent criminals would ensure prison cells are available for violent criminals.

14.2 Tri-State Region

RPA's five year project to prepare a new regional plan includes three years to prepare the first draft and two years for public discussion. The public consultation is intended to build broad based support for the proposed recommendations. The plan will present proposals relating to seven key areas: improving the Region's economic position in the world; creating new development patterns; protecting the environment; increasing mobility; overcoming the obstacles to affordable housing; improving the opportunities extended to all residents; and improving the Region's tax structure and ability to provide more effective public services.

In considering the Tri-State Region's importance in the global economy, the role of Manhattan as the main location for international activity will be examined. An investigation of land use over the past 25 years will be undertaken to generate alternative views for the future. These options will include several types of decentralization which have occurred. Office and retail development has emerged along highways and on campuses in dense corridors delineated by expressways. Small and medium-sized downtowns redeveloped as a result of RPA's Second Regional Plan will be evaluated in terms of their successes and shortcomings as new models for downtown revitalization. RPA will demonstrate how new mixed use developments can revitalize aging commercial strips in suburban areas, and how design and siting standards can make infill and downtown revitalization development more palatable. To address issues of mobility, RPA will investigate the feasibility, cost, and benefits of exclusive lanes for trucks or high-occupancy vehicles, circumferential routes, and more investment in mass transit.

Regional governance is a critical issue and RPA will look at options for overcoming impediments to regional goals. The competition between different parts of the Region have been disruptive and counterproductive since the Tri-State Regional Planning Commission was disbanded in 1982 and the Metropolitan Regional Council several years later. The Council for the Region Tomorrow, formed of a large and diverse group of community leaders will oversee RPA's five year long process to develop a new regional plan.

15 ST. LOUIS COUNTY, Missouri

St. Louis County is governed by a seven member council. Government and public services in the County are rendered by 90 municipalities, 24 fire protection districts, 24 school districts, and 68 other local taxing districts. St. Louis City, a central city locked in by incorporated suburban cities, is not included in the municipalities which make up St. Louis County. Over the past four decades, St. Louis County has shifted from communities with new homes for upwardly mobile young families to communities with aging housing stock and older long-term residents. The population of the County in 1980 was 974,000. Throughout the eighties the population has increasingly decentralized to outlying counties as employment opportunities have decentralized to fringe areas of the County. Some decentralization of jobs from St. Louis City to the County has also occurred. The County is experiencing increasing urbanization. Between 1980 and 1985, construction permits for over 17,000 residential units and a 30 percent increase in office space were issued. Residential concentrations in the eighties are characterized by higher densities and multi-family units.

The St. Louis County government has two distinct roles. Firstly, it functions as a quasi-regional government by providing county wide services such as tax assessment collection and arterial road maintenance. Secondly, the government acts as a local government for the County's unincorporated areas and thus provides services such as police patrol, land use planning, code enforcement, and maintenance of public streets. These two roles may be seen as conflicting when: (1) the government is addressing county-wide issues at the expense of the needs and wishes of its unincorporated area constituency; and (2) when municipalities view the County as a competitor for tax base and service delivery. Major growth management issues in the County include the dual role of the government, the eroding County tax base due to annexations and incorporations of previously unincorporated land, and the need for innovative funding sources. The County's challenge is to provide for redevelopment and rehabilitation of the infrastructure in maturing areas of the County while accommodating the new development that is occurring in the fringe areas. The Department of Planning document, *The Challenges of Transition-General Plan Update* (1986) provides insight into the trends and policies that will guide St. Louis County to the year 2000. The report presents the results of the Planning Commission's five year review and their recommendations to Council.

The report highlights the issues, goals, policies, and implementation time frame for the following policy areas: government/public service delivery, land, transportation, economic development, housing, environmental quality, recreation, culture, open space, health, human services, energy, and criminal justice. In addition, the impact of the major trends affecting the County, namely, a maturing population, aging infrastructure (roads, sewers, and housing stock), diminishing fiscal resources, and a decentralization of jobs and people are discussed in relation to each policy area.

Major concerns in the area of government and public service delivery are related to the dual role of the County and diminishing sources of revenue. To address the problem of conflicting interests in land use decisions, government decision-making will be based on the County's general plans and subsequent area or specialized studies for particular districts within the unincorporated area. Policy directed at improving the County's fiscal options include providing services at a level proportionate to revenues and encouraging private market attempts to supply adequate and reasonably priced public services. Council supports consolidation of municipal and public services such as police, public works, purchasing, permits, and inspection.

In the land policy area, Council is committed to directing development to areas where community support facilities are already adequate or can be cost effectively upgraded or provided to support development needs. Council's policy is to ensure that neighbourhood, community, and regional commercial land uses planned to meet the needs of the population are distributed throughout unincorporated areas of the County. Mixed land use centres which integrate residential, commercial, and light industrial uses within a physically compact area are to be located at major roadway intersections. Major employment and regional retail centres located in areas accessible to higher density residential areas which house labour force concentrations are encouraged. Council supports efforts to maintain and improve the existing infrastructure through the use of bond issues and developer contributions. Infill development is to be promoted as is a county-wide minimum housing code to maintain the quality of existing housing stock. Density incentives will be used to generate innovative and environmentally sensitive designs which are compatible with adjacent land uses.

The County's transportation policy provides for cooperation with the City of St. Louis to support the Bi-State Transit System. Financial resources to subsidize this bus system are generated through the county-wide one half cent Transportation Sales Tax. One of the County's strategies for financing road improvements is to require land developers to share in the cost and responsibility of roadway improvements necessary to support their developments. Capital improvements to the County's highways receive periodic financing through county-wide bond issues, federal funds, transportation sales tax receipts, and developer contributions.

A major consideration in the County's economic development policy is the decentralization of employment opportunities firstly out of the City of St. Louis into the County, and secondly to fringe areas of the region. The County is faced with decisions around potential locations for new employment centres. Through strategies such as infill development in existing institutional properties, tax abatements, special business taxing districts, and flexible zoning and building code provisions, the County aims to encourage new growth and rehabilitation in selected areas.

In its policies on recreational opportunities and open space, Council proposes investigating incentives to encourage developers to contribute to the acquisition of public

open space and park development through donations of land or fees-in-lieu-of-land. Alternative funding sources proposed by Council for maintenance and expansion of park and recreation programs and facilities include bond issues, tax incentives, donations, special taxes, and expansion of user fees. A human services plan for the County is proposed which would take into account human service needs, existing service delivery organizations, and alternative financing and service delivery arrangements.

16 SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA, California

San Francisco Bay Area includes nine counties: Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin, Napa, San Francisco, San Mateo, Santa Clara, Solano, and Sonoma. In 1982 the Bay Area had 1 consolidated city and county (San Francisco), 97 municipalities, 383 independent special districts, and 180 school districts. The 1987 population of the area was estimated to be 5,731,400, spread over approximately 7,000 square miles (18130 sq. km.). Between 1980 and 1987, the area's population grew by about 10 percent. The City of San Francisco is still considered to be the symbolic centre of the area and is the location of significant financial and related service activities. The City of San Jose is now the largest city in the Bay Area, and contains more than half of the region's manufacturing jobs. The Bay Area has grown into a sprawling region with multiple community nuclei, where the distribution of jobs and housing has led to significant cross-commuting between communities. Projections for 1990 indicate that in 34 subregional planning areas, employment exceeds the number of employed residents. The other 128 subregional planning areas function as bedroom communities. Despite periodic efforts throughout the 20th century, no authoritative multi-purpose regional government has been created to address needs and issues in the Bay Area.

Major growth management problems in the Bay Area are linked to traffic congestion, insufficient housing, loss of open space, and economic vulnerability. The paper by Victor Jones and Donald Rothblatt, *Governance of the San Francisco Bay Area* (University of California at Berkeley, 1989), provides an overview of the private, governmental and quasi-public/quasi-private organizations which have leadership roles in addressing the problems of land-use controls and other regional issues. The authors argue that major private organizations remain committed to their particular areas of concern (eg. affordable housing or open space), but are recognizing the growing need to look at their issues from a regional context. A new willingness to cooperate has arisen. Local governments and regional special purpose agencies have abandoned the long-term comprehensive approach to growth management in favour of a strategic process to deal with issues as they arise.

16.1 Non-Governmental Organizations

Jones and Rothblatt focus their attention on four nongovernmental associations: the Bay Area Council, the Greenbelt Alliance, the Santa Clara County Manufacturing Group, and the League of Women Voters for the Bay Area. These groups are considered to be key players in any attempt to create a regional government or land-use authority. It is appropriate to consider the growth management strategies advocated by these groups.

The Bay Area Council, sponsored by the business community, consists mostly of

representatives of major corporations operating in the region. The Council views the increasing traffic congestion, declining affordable housing supply, environmental deterioration, and increasing public opposition to economic development as serious threats to continued growth. The organization advocates for changes to the planning framework which would motivate communities to make and enforce critical multi-jurisdictional decisions without undermining local authority. For the short term, a subregional planning framework may be required to promote mutual understanding between communities and a willingness to reach agreement. Subregions could be linked with particular transportation corridors, labour market areas, and water and sewer distribution and collection networks. As an incentive for communities to cooperate, the Council suggests state funding for transportation and other community improvements could be conditional upon the development of adequate subregional infrastructure plans. Although the State should develop the planning criteria, other institutions made up of local representatives should have the authority to review plans and allocate funds.

The Greenbelt Alliance is the region's major land conservation organization. They advocate a return to the Bay Area's traditional urban structure, a densely developed commercial and residential district around and near the Bay to counteract the uncontrolled metropolitan growth which has resulted in the dispersion of employment away from centralized locations. The Alliance estimates that every two years, farmland the size of San Francisco undergoes development. The Alliance's strategic plan for managing growth calls for permanent urban area boundaries to force new development to occur in existing urban centres. They argue for zoning for higher residential densities; rehabilitation of under-used areas; infill development within existing urban areas; and new resources to strengthen the centrally located metropolitan districts. Their plan calls for limited-function governing mechanisms which allow region-wide problems, including transportation, to be addressed.

The Santa Clara County Manufacturing Group, established by leading high-tech corporations in the San Jose area, sees transportation and the environment (especially the quality of drinking water) as the major problems in Santa Clara County. Initially formed to deal with regional problems threatening the economic well-being of Silicon Valley, the group has worked closely with local governments to identify specific problems and help generate solutions. They were instrumental in an early sub-regional planning initiative (Golden Triangle Plan) which involved one county and five cities. The plan's major thrust was to limit industrial development and provide for at least 15,000 much needed housing units to be built close to existing employment centres.

The League of Women Voters of the Bay Area consists of 23 local leagues. For more than two decades they have advocated for a regional multi-purpose agency. They support the concept of a regional agency with half of its members directly elected and half appointed by city and county officials.

16.2 County and Municipal Governments

To some extent county governments operate as administrative arms of the state government by providing tax assessment services, maintaining jail and courts, and distributing medical and welfare funds. They also collaborate in the effort to manage regional growth as noted below and are the sole local governments which can plan and regulate land use in unincorporated areas. Further, they are responsible for providing services and regulating the population outside of urban areas. The county is only indirectly responsible for service provision when special districts are created and property owners pay for the services they receive.

Of the 98 incorporated municipalities in the Bay Area, 72 have populations larger than 10,000. In most municipalities, the mayor is elected yearly, and the local government is organized to actively participate in the region's intergovernmental affairs. City and county officials, however, have voiced their concern over the added burden of participating in one or more regional agencies.

16.3 Quasi-Governmental Organization

The Association of Bay Area Governments (ABAG), created in1961 recognizes that the economic and social well-being of the Bay Area depends on areawide cooperation and coordination in planning, policy making and providing services. The membership of ABAG, although not a government agency, consists of 92 cities and 9 counties who work together under the authority of the State's joint Exercise of Powers Act. Since non-authoritative persuasive planning is considered to be the only politically feasible approach to growth management in the Bay Area, the ABAG has focused its energy on providing services (eg. technical advice) to member governments and engaging in advocacy before other governmental bodies. It uses its own regional plan to review local and regional plans and projects and monitors trends affecting the area. The ABAG's 1980 Regional Plan supports the concept of a 'city-centred region' which accommodates growth in existing urban communities. Open space areas separating communities would be used to direct and manage growth as would infill development and an orderly extension of the developed area. A number of communities were selected to undergo intensive development. The plan proposed channelling growth through public purchase of undeveloped land (the open space between communities), cooperation in zoning to raise residential densities, and the development of a transportation system that would balance automobiles with mass transit.

In their concluding remarks, Jones and Rothblatt note the growing recognition that the individual concerns of major private organizations need to be seen in a regional context. The authors conclude by questioning the future outcome of the document 'Bay Vision 2020', a joint private-public effort and the nature of the legislation and electoral struggle which may follow.

17 TWIN CITIES METROPOLITAN AREA, Minnesota

Created in 1967, the Metropolitan Council of the Twin Cities Area coordinates regional planning and development for a metropolitan area consisting of seven counties: Anoka, Carver, Dakota, Hennepin, Ramsey, Scott, and Washington. Council is made up of a Chair and 16 members, each representing a separate district. Council's mandate includes planning for highways and transit, sewers, parks and open space, airports, land use, air and water quality, health, housing, aging and the arts. The report by Barbara Senness for Council, *Managing Growth in the Twin Cities Metropolitan Area* (1985) as well as Council's *Metropolitan Development and Investment Framework* (1988) and *Consistency Between Comprehensive Plans and Zoning Ordinances* (1986) provide insight into current growth management issues, policies, and strategies in the Twin Cities Area. The most pressing issues for the region included: recognizing agriculture as the best long term use for most of the region's land and protecting it accordingly; encouraging new development to occur in existing urbanized areas of the region; and increasing the density of development in urbanized areas to justify public investment in regional facilities. Regional management strategies need to take into account the slowdown in population growth which is forecasted for the Twin Cities Area. Challenges facing Council in recent years include exploring alternatives for financing regional systems in response to decreasing federal and state financial support, and integrating policy around human resources and services into their framework for growth management.

To carry out its objectives, Council formulated the Metropolitan Development Guide (MDG). Two chapters in the original guide, the Metropolitan Development Framework (MDF) and the Metropolitan Investment Framework (MIF), adopted in 1975 and 1977 respectively, were updated and merged in 1986 into a new document called the Metropolitan Development and Investment Framework (MDIF). Although the newer document encompasses most concepts found in the earlier documents, the focus has shifted from growth management to regional resource management. The latter implies managing existing regional facilities and the public dollars used to maintain or expand them.

17.1 Strategies for Managing Regional Growth

Barbara Senness in her report *Managing Growth in the Twin Cities Metropolitan Area*, reviews Council's performance in achieving 'orderly and economic development' in the region. The document is in response to a Legislative Auditor's Report which stated that Council had never evaluated its framework for growth management but nevertheless was working on revising it. To consider Council's accomplishments, Senness focuses on the seven area-wide policy areas identified in the MDF: establishment of urban and rural service areas, reinvestment instead of investment for expansion, development of diverse living opportunities, development of mini-downtowns, maintenance of a diversified

economy, protection of the natural environment, and community involvement in regional decision-making. By reviewing how much and where urban services expanded, where public transit and highway improvements occurred, rates of urbanization, and requests for building permits for rural areas, Senness argues that since 1973 the region has moved towards a tighter development pattern in the urban service areas designated in the MDF.

Key strategies for implementing rural and urban service area policies include the Metropolitan Land Planning Act (adopted in 1976) and the Metropolitan Agricultural Preserves Act (adopted in 1980). The former required school districts and local governments in the area to prepare plans consistent with Council policy by 1980. Independent research conducted in 1981 and 1982 by John Bryson (Humphrey Institute for Public Affairs) indicates that local governments generally feel the Metropolitan Land Planning Act (MLPA) has had positive impacts on their comprehensive plans and decision-making capabilities in new undertakings and resource allocation. Representatives of 40 percent of communities who responded to the act were surveyed for their views on the impacts and effectiveness of the MLPA. Over 70 percent of respondents reported that at least half of the contents of their plan developed under the MLPA differed from earlier versions. Almost 90 percent felt the insight they gained through the process would assist them in better understanding future planning and implementation efforts. There has been a high rate of compliance with the act.

The Agricultural Preserves Act recognizes agricultural land as a long term land use and has provisions for placing agricultural land on an equal taxing basis with land not affected by urban pressures elsewhere in the state. The act also restricts government practices such as special assessments and eminent domain actions. Communities participate by designating long-term agricultural land in their comprehensive plans and zoning this land at a density of one unit per 40 acres. In 1985, 56 communities had land certified long term agricultural land and in each of these communities landowners were also participating in the program. Landowners wanting to benefit from the agricultural preserve program apply through their local authority and can at any time initiate an expiration to end agricultural preserve status on their land. By 1985, 58 percent of the total farmland in the Twin Cities Area was certified as eligible for benefits under the program.

According to Senness, other implementation strategies, including technical assistance and planning guidelines in the areas of capital improvement programming and affordable housing, grants for local governments undertaking comprehensive planning, and regulations for on-site sewer systems have also been well received. Despite Council's progress towards establishing urban and rural service areas, which is the main emphasis of this report, Senness does conclude that the other six policy areas outlined in the MDF have not received as much attention and fewer successes have been realized. Council had not made a clear choice between the two investment alternatives of reinvestment or investment for expansion. Mini-downtowns, or clusters of shopping, cultural,

entertainment, high density housing, and employment opportunities had not been created as envisioned; instead, large, low density areas adjacent to regional highways devoted to commercial and/or industrial uses and retail outfits with large sales volumes were emerging. Council's efforts to maintain a diversified economy did not include direct intervention and were primarily restricted to exploring how the business economy works and the possible economic roles regional council could have. Council was also unable to provide ample and detailed information to local governments about the natural resource components to be included in comprehensive plans. Senness concludes her report with an overview of the MDIF which was then in the proposal stage. She argues that the new MDIF document is needed to respond to changes in state legislation, changes in social and economic conditions, and concerns about how Council relates to metropolitan operating agencies.

17.2 Investment Priorities

Council's document *Metropolitan Development and Investment Framework* (MDIF) outlines the goals of the framework, its planning and investment strategy, geographic policy areas, and planning and investment procedures. This framework responds to trends expected to affect the Twin Cities Area over the coming decades. The primary trend is recognized to be a slowdown in the area's population growth as compared to the 'babyboom' years, which means that the demand for regional facilities will be lower than presumed in the 1975 MDF. The nine goals of the MDIF are: locating urban development and investment in a defined urban service area; providing necessary regional services to meet existing development and forecasted growth; economically and efficiently accommodating unanticipated growth within the urban service area; preserving agricultural and rural land use in the rural service area; ensuring residents have adequate housing at a reasonable; concentrating major commercial and industrial development; maintaining, reusing, and reinvesting in older, fully developed areas; maintaining a strong diversified economy; and efficiently using public resources.The MDIF divides the region into urban and rural service areas. Improvements to regional services are made to meet the needs of the urban service area while new service initiatives are not extended into rural areas. The urban service boundaries that communities designated in their comprehensive plans in the early eighties are reflected in the framework.

Geographic policy areas allow Council to prioritize around the investment of public dollars into regional facilities. The framework recognizes two metro centres which shall be maintained as centres of economic activity and housing. New, higher density development with good highway access and good levels of service is valued in the metro centres. The highest priority for public dollars is put on maintaining the regional facilities serving metro centres. Maintaining facilities which service regional business concentrations along major highways or surrounding major shopping malls is Council's second priority for public investment. Council's investment strategy gives a

high priority to development which supports economic growth. Council supports redevelopment of existing regional business concentrations, recognizing that many have metropolitan services and facilities which are under-used and can support higher density development. In addition to good highway access, these concentrations could potentially be better serviced by public transit and have pedestrian access. Investment and redevelopment could potentially lead to the establishment of health and social services due to the location and access characteristics of the business concentrations.

Fully developed areas, or centrally located and built up portions of the region are supported through maintenance and upgrading of the regional facilities serving the areas. This investment receives a higher priority than investment in facilities in developing areas which surpass the population, household, and employment growth forecasts. Council recognizes the need to protect the investments in regional systems and facilities which have already been made in fully developed areas and is prepared to take protective actions such as limiting or denying a new development access to a regional system if capacity problems would result in a fully developed area.

So-called developing areas will experience more new developments before the year 2000 than other designated areas. The framework supports new developments which reflect Council's forecasts. From the outset of planning for new communities, Council urges clusters of housing aimed at target populations as well as easily accessible social and cultural facilities to meet special needs and to increase the sharing of resources and expertise. The low density automobile-oriented development which characterizes these areas means the prospects for public transit service are dismal.

Freestanding growth centres, or cities in rural portions of the region, can expect investment in regional facilities which strengthen older parts of the centres or support new outward development. Council considers these centres as an alternative to living and working in the central urban area, and supports housing maintenance and rehabilitation, affordable housing developments, and housing geared to meeting special needs. The MDIF recognizes that freestanding centres accommodate population and employment growth which might otherwise occur in unserviced portions of the region.

The framework's commercial agricultural area consists of land eligible to be agricultural preserves, and is thus viewed as long term agricultural land. Within this area, Council recognizes primary and secondary protection areas. The former refers to land with preserve status which receives the greatest possible protection from incompatible uses in recognition of the demonstrated high commitment to farming. The latter provides a lesser degree of protection for farms that are not part of the agricultural preserves program. These levels of protection reduce the threat that urban development will put long term investments in farm equipment and land preservation into jeopardy.

In the general rural use area, which includes farms, rural residential developments and regional parks, the priority is given to supporting low density residential

developments, but not to the density found in the urban area. Rural centres, or small cities which are retail and transportation centres for surrounding agricultural areas are expected to pace their development to reflect their own ability to provide the necessary urban services without the support of regional services.

The MDIF procedures for investment take into account whether regional need for a new facility exists as well as what benefits arise in light of other alternatives and costs. Projects are ranked according to priorities linked with the different geographic policy areas and policy plans for regional systems such as highways, transit, sewers, airports, and solid waste disposal. Consideration is given to how facilities are financed, how operating and debt service costs are paid for, how the project affects the regional economy, tax base and revenue and long term employment. The process takes into account equity, or the individuals, households, communities, and target groups who pay for or who benefit from a facility; relationships between the methods used to initially finance a project and the best use of that facility; the use of state and federal grants, the affect on the total debt carried by metropolitan agencies; and the appropriateness of using public revenue.

The MDIF also spells out the relationships between Council and the agencies responsible for regional services: the Metropolitan Waste Control Commission, the Regional Transit Board and its operating subsidiary, the Metropolitan Transit Commission, the Metropolitan Parks and Open Space Commission, the Metropolitan Airports Commission, and the Metropolitan Sports Facilities Commission. Council has the authority to plan and coordinate regional service delivery while the agencies are responsible for planning operations or actual operation of individual regional services. Council is responsible for overseeing agency operations with the aim to achieve public accountability for the delivery of regional services.

Council's relationship to local governments and the possibilities for cost sharing, updating Council's plans, and changing Metropolitan urban service boundaries are outlined in the MDIF. Council and local governments are required by law to continually review and modify growth forecasts and their assessment of regional facility needs. On a yearly basis, Council issues a statement about the changes in regional plans and highlights what geographic areas or population groups are affected. Local governments can consider all system plan changes for the year concurrently. Through the Land Planning Act, Council has the authority to mediate disputes between neighbouring communities arising from the comprehensive planning process. Council promotes information sharing between school districts and local governments, although the former is only legally required to submit major changes to their capital improvement programs to Council. Council will enter into cost-sharing agreements with local governments if approached to do so and if the project is consistent with the policies of the MDIF. This is one alternative funding source for regional facilities that Council has used successfully.

The work program which concludes the MDIF document focuses on: establishing

a monitoring and evaluation program to assess how effective the actions of Council, metropolitan agencies and local governments are in achieving Council's goals for the region; generating the necessary information to assess what share of the region's financial resources will be needed just to maintain regional systems; and exploring alternative ways of financing regional systems. Council will consider financing options such as increasing local participation in funding and tapping sources of private funding. Financing options may vary from system to system. For transportation systems, development-impact fees or highway-corridor assessment districts (successful elsewhere in the US) may be considered. The work program recognizes that in the future the MDIF must provide direction for investment in human resources and integrated human services in addition to providing direction for investment in physical facilities.

17.3 Policy Documents Versus Development Control Mechanisms

Council's report entitled *Consistency Between Comprehensive Plans and Zoning Ordinances* illustrates how state legislation has the potential to undermine regional growth management processes in the Twin Cities Metropolitan Area. The report is in response to an 1985 amendment to Minnesota state planning law which gives zoning ordinances precedence over comprehensive municipal plans whenever the two are in conflict. The purpose of the report is to examine the impact of this legislation on the use and implementation of comprehensive plans in the Twin Cities Area. Council is responsible for reviewing the comprehensive plans of the local governments in the Twin Cities Area and ensuring that the plans are compatible with regional goals. Council does not, however, check zoning ordinances for compliance with the regional growth management framework and concern was raised that Council would become less effective in managing and directing growth in the region as a result of this legislation.

Council surveyed each city, township and county to determine the extent and nature of inconsistency between zoning ordinances and comprehensive plans in the metropolitan area, and what (if anything) has been done to reconcile inconsistencies. The survey results were assessed in terms of Council's ability to encourage coordinated and orderly development in the metropolitan area. According to the results, little inconsistency between comprehensive plans and zoning ordinances was found. Most communities reported compliance with the Metropolitan Land Planning Act which requires that official controls that conflict with comprehensive plans not be implemented. The survey findings revealed that the legislation merely validated or reflected the way most communities interpreted zoning ordinances and comprehensive plans and that the latter still provide the context for long term planning and day to day zoning decisions. Although a detailed look at the extent of inconsistencies was not undertaken, the report indicates that inconsistencies ranged from undeveloped land zoned as agricultural having high density residential designations in the land use plan to residential land designated as low density in the comprehensive plan being zoned for high density residential. The report concludes that inconsistency may result in inefficient development patterns and the

danger exists that a municipality will commit itself to a development which cannot be serviced by regional systems in cases where a zoning ordinance permits higher density development than does a comprehensive plan. Further, for a few communities, the legislation may be used as a way to allow comprehensive plans to become outdated and useless and to practise 'planning by zoning', without regard to community visions of the future.

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